

Message Text

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ORIGIN EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-14 ISO-00 IO-14 DPW-01 OMB-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-03 SS-20 AID-20 /149 R

DRAFTED BY EA/VN:JRBULLINGTON:BK

APPROVED BY EA-MSTEARNS (DRAFT)

EA/VN:RHWENZEL

EA/IMS:JMDION (DRAFT)

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O P 152247Z MAY 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL JEC PARIS

S E C R E T STATE 101571

E O 11652 GDS

TAGS: MARR,VS, ID

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE INDONESIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ICCS

REF: A. JAKARTA 5933; B. JAKARTA 5920; C. STATE 082589

1. IN ADDITION TO REF C ASSESSMENT OF LIMITED SIGNIFICANCE
OF BREAK IN GVN-PRG PARIS TALKS, RECOMMEND YOU DRAW ON
FOLLOWING POINTS IN YOUR MEETING WITH MALIK:

A. JUST AS WITH GVN-PRG POLITICAL TALKS, BOTH SIDES HAVE
PREVIOUSLY WALKED OUT OF TPJMC MEETINGS. CURRENT PRG
BOYCOTT OF TPJMC IS NOT NECESSARILY PERMANENT.

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B. ALTHOUGH PUBLICITY ACCORDED TO RECENT BATTLES MAKES IT

APPEAR LEVEL OF FIGHTING HAS INCREASED, COUNTRYWIDE HOSTILITIES HAVE NOT INCREASED SUBSTANTIALLY BEYOND AVERAGE FOR PAST YEAR AND REMAIN WELL BELOW LEVEL OF PRE-CEASE-FIRE ERA.

C. WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE PARIS AGREEMENT AND BELIEVE IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED, ESPECIALLY SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES, TO JOIN US IN HELPING HOLD TOGETHER ITS ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS. WE THINK MOST OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE OTHER GREAT POWERS, SHARE THIS VIEW.

D. THE GVN, WHILE UNDERSTANDABLY UPSET BY THE COMMUNISTS' MILITARY BUILD-UP AND PROLONGED REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY OR PERMIT THE EFFECTIVE FUNCTIONING OF CEASE-FIRE SUPERVISORY BODIES, REMAINS REASONABLY FLEXIBLE AND IS COMMITTED TO PREVENTING RENEWED ALL-OUT WARFARE IF AT ALL POSSIBLE.

E. ACCORDING TO OUR BEST INTELLIGENCE, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE DO NOT PLAN A MAJOR OFFENSIVE AT THIS TIME.

F. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THERE ARE GOOD PROSPECTS THAT THE LEVEL OF HOSTILITIES CAN CONTINUE TO BE HELD DOWN, THE SITUATION CAN BE FURTHER STABILIZED, AND OVER THE LONG RUN A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT WILL BECOME POSSIBLE. HOWEVER, THIS IS A PROCESS WHICH CANNOT BE FORCED AND WILL REQUIRE TIME AND PATIENCE BEFORE IT MATURES. INTERNATIONAL INTEREST IN THE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS ACCORDS, INCLUDING THE POLITICAL PROVISIONS, IS BEST EXPRESSED BY THE PRESENCE OF THE ICCS, AND ESPECIALLY OF THE INDONESIAN DELEGATION WHICH REPRESENTS THE STAKE THAT SOUTHEAST ASIAN STATES HAVE IN PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE VIET-NAM CONFLICT.

G. THE ICCS REMAINS A KEY ELEMENT IN OUR HOPES FOR PREVENTING A RETURN TO ALL-OUT WARFARE IN VIET-NAM AND PROMOTING EVENTUAL STABILIZATION AND SETTLEMENT. WE CAN UNDERSTAND AND SYMPATHIZE WITH THE FRUSTRATIONS WHICH HAVE LED THE GOI TO REASSESS ITS ROLE IN THE ICCS. AND WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE ICCS HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY LESS EFFECTIVE

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THAN BOTH WE AND THE GOI HAD HOPED. NONETHELESS, WE VIEW THE DEPLOYED PRESENCE OF SEVERAL HUNDRED FOREIGN OFFICIALS IN SOUTH VIET-NAM AS A SIGNIFICANT DETERRENT TO THE RESUMPTION OF GENERAL WARFARE. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THIS PRESENCE REMAIN AND THAT THE ICCS CONTINUE TO PERFORM ITS DIFFICULT TASK IN THE BEST POSSIBLE FASHION. WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED THE IMPORTANCE WE PLACE ON THE ICCS BY OUR FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO COVER THE FAILURE OF THE COM-

MUNISTS TO PAY THEIR SHARE.

H. CONVERSELY, INDONESIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ICCS WOULD
PLAY INTO HANOI'S HANDS AND ABET HANOI'S MANI-
FEST POLICY OF REDUCING OR TERMINATING THE ICCS MISSION.
THE GOI'S WITHDRAWAL WOULD ALSO REPRESENT A VERY SERIOUS
BLOW TO PROSPECTS FOR PREVENTING AN ESCALATION OF THE
FIGHTING AND MAINTAINING THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH EVOLU-
TION TOWARD A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT MAY BE POSSIBLE.

2. YOU SHOULD NOT RAISE ISSUE OF GOI-GVN TERRITORIAL DIS-
PUTE BUT IF MALIK BRINGS IT UP, REPLY ALONG LINES OF

STATE 093228. FYI: GENERAL SOEKAMTO RAISED ISSUE IN
MEETING WITH IMS OFFICIALS MAY 14 AND RECEIVED SAME RE-
SPONSE. RUSH

SECRET

NNN

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